



F.O.
371

**CLOSED
UNTIL**

1992

159146



1961

V

North and East African Department

SUDAN

VS 1821/61.

FROM

Uganda (comin)
to Co.

SUBJECT:

Sudan Refugees.

Agrees with proposed procedure
for surveillance.

No.

263.

Dated

Sept. 13.

Received

Sept. 20.

References

MINUTES

See Submission

was

21/9

(Printing Instructions)

159146

(Outward Action)

(Action
completed)

Adley,
27/9/61

(Main Indexed)

adl
9/11/62

CONFIDENTIAL

enter

INWARD TELEGRAM

TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES

FROM UGANDA (Acting Governor)

Cypher (O.T.P.)

D. 13th September, 1961.

R. 13th "

11.55 hrs.

RECEIVED IN
ARCHIVES

20 SEP 1961

V51821/61.

CONFIDENTIAL AND PERSONAL
PERSONAL No. 263

Addressed to S. of S.

Repeated " Governor Tanganyika

" " British Ambassador
Khartoum

} PERSONAL
No. 46.

(S. of S. please pass to Khartoum)

Your telegram PERSONAL No. 345.

Sudanese Refugees.

I agree with procedure outlined in your
telegram.

(Copies sent to Foreign Office for
repetition to Khartoum)

CONFIDENTIAL

1961

V

North and East African Department

VS 1821/62.

SUDAN

FROM Tanganyika
to C.O. (comm'd)

CONFIDENTIAL

No. 346
Dated Sept. 15.
Received Sept. 20.

SUBJECT:

Sudan refugees. -
Present whereabouts and intentions
of SATUNNINO, ODUHO and DENG.

References

165.

MINUTES

See submission

Aug
21/9

A) Tanganyika to C.O. (comm'd) 352 - 20/9.

(Printing Instructions)

Now see - 165

(Outward Action)

NS.
2/10

(Action
completed)

SRP

17/11/61

(Main Indexed)

all
9/11/62

CONFIDENTIAL

INWARD TELEGRAM

TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES

RECEIVED IN
ARCHIVES

20 SEP 1961

VS1821/62.

FROM TANGANYIKA (O.A.G.)

Cypher (O.T.P.)

D. 15th September, 1961

R. 15th " " 15.05 hours.

IMMEDIATE

PERSONAL and CONFIDENTIAL

Personal No. 346.

Addressed to S. of S.

Repeated to British Ambassador, Khartoum

(S. of S. please pass)

" " Governor, Uganda, Personal No. 112.

Your telegram Personal No. 345 to Governor, Uganda repeated to me as Personal No. 402.

I apologise for the delay in replying.

2. Present position is as follows:-

(a) Saturnine.

Person named does not wish to return to Uganda. Nor will he give any undertaking not to take part in political activities if he is permitted to remain here. He wishes to go to any other country prepared to accept him. It is our intention to inform him that unless he gives the necessary undertakings he will be repatriated to Uganda.

(b) Joseph Oduho.

Person named wishes to return to Uganda. It is our intention to allow him to proceed.

(c) Deng.

Person named has given undertakings required of him and it is therefore proposed to let him remain in Tanganyika. He will be kept under such surveillance as is possible.

3. Situation has developed in an embarrassing way in the last 24 hours in that subjects (a) and (b) can not at present be traced. Subject (c) says that they are still in Dar es Salaam and looking for new lodgings but his word is not worth much.

4. Enquiries are continuing and I will telegraph you immediately when definite information becomes available.

(Copies sent to Foreign Office for repetition to Khartoum).

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

INWARD TELEGRAM

TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES

FROM TANGANYIKA (O.A.G.)

Cypher (O.T.P.)

D. 20th September, 1961.

R. 20th

14.40 hrs.

22/9 21/9
RECEIVED IN
ARCHIVES

27 SEP 1961

VS1821/62(VA)

IMMEDIATE

CONFIDENTIAL AND PERSONAL

PERSONAL No. 352

Addressed to S. of S.

Repeated " H.M. Ambassador, Khartoum

(S. of S. please pass).

" " Governor, Uganda, PERSONAL No. 116.

My telegram PERSONAL No. 346.

Sudanese Refugees.

There is still no trace of Saturnino and Oduho.

2. Deng left Dar es Salaam by bus for Arusha on Saturday, 16th September, leaving certain possessions behind in his hotel here and announcing that he was visiting friends in Arusha for the week-end. He has, however, not returned to Dar es Salaam. Efforts are being made to trace him in Arusha but I fear that it is possible that he may have left the territory.

3. Deng has in his possession Sudanese passport No. 25418 issued in Khartoum on 17th May, 1960.

(Copies sent to Foreign Office for
repetition to Khartoum)

Copy sent to:-

Foreign Office (African Dept.) - Mr. John

CONFIDENTIAL

1961

V

North and East African Department

VS1821/63.

SUDAN

FROM Uganda.
(command by C.O.)

No. 266
Dated Sept. 20.
Received Sept. 22.

SUBJECT: Sudan Refugees.
Terms of surveillance if SATUR NINO
and ODUNO return to Uganda.

1821

References

162.

MINUTES

11/5
28/9

(Printing Instructions)

(Outward Action)

(Action completed)

29/10/62

(Main Indexed)

9/11/62

CONFIDENTIAL

INWARD TELEGRAM

TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES

RECEIVED IN
ARCHIVES

22 SEP 1961

VS1821/63.

FROM UGANDA (Acting Governor)

Cypher (O.T.P.)

D. 20th September, 1961.

R. 20th " " 21.00 hrs.

CONFIDENTIAL AND PERSONAL
PERSONAL No. 266

Addressed to S. of S.

Repeated to O.A.G.. Tanganyika,
British Ambassador, Khartoum
(S. of S. please pass) Personal No. 48.

Governor Tanganyika's telegram Personal No. 346,
to you repeated to me Personal No. 112.

Sudan Refugees.

If Saturnino and Oduho return to Uganda it is my
intention

- (a) to ask the Director of Public Prosecutions to
advise whether they should be prosecuted for breach
of terms of their permits;
- (b) to require them to reside in a remote area in the
Southern part of Karamoja district, preferably in
the missions under direct supervision of European
Verona fathers.

2. If they are traced and if they are to be returned
to Uganda I should be grateful if Governor Tanganyika would
give maximum possible warning and inform me by which route
they will travel. I should have no objection to information
in this telegram being conveyed to the Sudanese Government
if this would be helpful.

(Copies sent to Foreign Office for repetition to Khartoum)

Copies sent to:-

Foreign Office - Mr. A.J.M. Craig
" " (African Dept.) - Mr. Johns

CONFIDENTIAL

1961

V

North and East African Department

SUDAN

VS 1821/64.

FROM F.O. Submission
Mr Birch

SUBJECT:

Sudan Refugees.

The three refugees in Tanganyika
have escaped.

The note to the Sudan N.E.A. will
have to be redrafted.

No.

Dated

Received

Sept. 22.

Sept. 26.

References

/59.

MINUTES

Aug 28/9

(Printing Instructions)

(Outward Action)

(Action
completed)

(Main Indexed)

Alger
3/10/62

9/11/62

CONFIDENTIAL

VS1821/64.

SUDANESE REFUGEES IN UGANDA AND TANGANYIKA

Flag A

On September 8 H.M. Chargé d'Affaires in Khartoum was instructed to speak to the Sudan Minister for Foreign Affairs about the question of the refugees. There were nine of these. Six were still in Uganda, where they were being kept under surveillance. Three had escaped from Uganda to Tanganyika, and we asked the Governor of Tanganyika to ensure that they also would be kept under surveillance. The Sudanese were to be told of the arrangements for surveillance and promised that we would ensure that they indulged in no political activities. But it was to be made plain that we could not return the refugees to the Sudan. Mr. Brenchley asked us to let him reinforce this communication with a note which he sent to us in draft.

Flag B

2. While we and the Colonial Office were looking at this draft, the three refugees in Tanganyika all disappeared and cannot be traced. The Governor of Tanganyika has also reported that one of them, before disappearing, refused to give an undertaking not to take part in political activities while in Tanganyika.

Flags C
and D

Flag E

Meanwhile Mr. Brenchley has heard privately that another of them had written to the Reverend Michael Scott, asking his help to get to the United Kingdom.

3. Unless the Colonial authorities can deal with this situation quickly and firmly we shall have to reconsider what we say to the Sudanese. We can afford to wait another day or two to see what transpires. Meanwhile I submit a draft telegram designed to warn Mr. Brenchley that we are reconsidering the position.

Entered
at -159

Copy

Lord Privy Seal
Lord Lansdowne
Mr. Thomas

J. G. S. Beith

(J. G. S. Beith)

September 22, 1961.

This is really appalling! At any rate it seems that U.D.T. are not police states!

cl. 22/9

CONFIDENTIAL

V

North and East African Department

SUDAN

VS 1821/65

FROM

Tanganyika
to CO. (Commind)

CONFIDENTIAL

No.

359

Dated

Sept. 26.

Received

Sept. 27.

SUBJECT:

Refugees -
DENG is still in Dar - es - Salaam.
He has complained about restrictions
and might apply for a visa for the U.K.

References

/62.

MINUTES

See Submission

WWS

4/6

(Printing Instructions)

(Outward Action)

(Action
completed)

SRP

17/10/61

(Main Indexed)

WWS
9/11/62

CONFIDENTIAL

① H. Sengupta. E. see

INWARD TELEGRAM

② enter

TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES

FROM TANGANYIKA (O.A.G.)

Cypher (O.T.P.)

D. 26th September, 1961.

R. 26th " "

10.25 hrs.

VS1824/65.

PRIORITY

CONFIDENTIAL AND PERSONAL

PERSONAL No. 359

Addressed to S. of S.

Repeated " British Ambassador Khartoum (S. of S. please pass)
and O.A.G. Uganda, Personal No. 122.

My telegram Personal No. 352.

Deng has re-appeared in Dar es Salaam. He maintains that he has no knowledge of whereabouts of the other two refugees. He has complained of restrictions placed on his activities by Tanganyika Government. Attitude of Tanganyika Government is that they cannot permit Tanganyika to be used as a base for activities against another independent African state. Deng is well aware of position but claims that restrictions have been instigated by H.M.G. Deng now states that he is thinking of applying for a visa for Britain.

(Copies sent to Foreign Office for repetition to Khartoum)

Copy sent to:-

Foreign Office (African Department) - Mr. Johns.

CONFIDENTIAL

1961

V

North and East African Department

SUDAN

VS 1821/66

FROM F.G. Minette
Mr. Scrivener

CONFIDENTIAL

No.

Dated

Received

Oct. 5.
Oct. 10.

SUBJECT:

Sudan Refugees.

The revised Note to the Sudan M.F.A.
should now be handed over.

References

/57.

MINUTES

Wuz

16/10

(Printing Instructions)

(Outward Action)

Off Mr. Frenchley, Khartoum
from Mr. Scrivener. 9/10
Re) F.D. Webber, C.O. 9/10

(Action
completed)

SRP

17/10/61

(Main Indexed)

9/11/62

CONFIDENTIAL

SUDAN REFUGEES

RECEIVED IN
JAN 1965
10
VS1821/66

Flag A On September 22 we telegraphed to Khartoum to say that
in view of the disappearance of three of the refugees
(Saturnino, Oduho and Deng) from Dar-es-Salaam, we would
telegraph instructions regarding the Note to be presented to
the Sudan authorities as soon as possible. The submission made
Flag B at the time is at -/64. Since then we have heard from
Flag C Tanganyika that Deng has reappeared, but there is no
information about the whereabouts of the other two refugees.
2. In fact the problem of trying to keep control of these
people, if they are unwilling to co-operate, is probably
insuperable, particularly given the difficulty that the
Governors cannot count on their own Ministers. But it is
a pity that the Governors were not more frank about this
in the first place.
3. Our original instructions to Mr. Brenchley were contained
Flag D in our telegram No. 1060 to Khartoum. They provided for an
Flag E oral communication. Mr. Brenchley told us in his telegram
No. 721 that he wished to reinforce his oral communication
with a Note or aide-mémoire, and he sent us a draft.
4. In fact that draft was careful not to make too many
promises, and it does not need a great deal of amendment to
make it fit the real facts of the situation. I attach the draft
Flag F showing how it might be so amended. The Colonial Office
concur in the proposed amendments.
5. It is of course embarrassing to have to admit to the
Sudanese that we have lost track of the two men. But the
Sudanese are bound to find this out sooner or later,
particularly if the two were to start indulging in political
activity directed against the Sudan régime from some new
bolt-hole. It would be most unfortunate if this were to

CONFIDENTIAL

/happen

CONFIDENTIAL

happen before the Sudanese had heard anything from us. I think therefore that we must now tell Mr. Brenchley to go ahead and put in the revised version of his Note. I submit a draft letter to him accordingly, which has been cleared with the Colonial Office. It will reach Khartoum on October 10 and there is therefore no need to telegraph.

R. Scrivener
(R. S. Scrivener)
October 5, 1961.

Copy

Lord Privy Seal

Lord Lansdowne

Mr. Thomas

*This is in line with
earlier instructions approved
by the C.P.S. The modifications
resulting from changed circ.*

df

bx

Letter to ...

N.S.

4.10

CONFIDENTIAL

Enclosure to be typed.

Registry
No.

VS1821/66

Top Secret.
Secret.
Confidential.
Restricted.
Open.

RSS

5/10

Draft. Flag A

Letter to:

Mr. Brenchley,
Khantoum

Flag E

From:

Mr. Scrivener

Flag F

Copy:

Mr. Webber,
Colonial Office

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

CONFIDENTIAL

In our telegram No. 1102 of September 22 we undertook to telegraph further instructions about the Sudanese refugees. Since then we have seen the Governor of Tanganyika's telegram Personal No. 359 of September 26 reporting the reappearance of Deng. But it seems quite clear that we cannot, as things are, give the Sudanese the assurances contained in the draft Note which you sent to us on September 12.

2. On the other hand that draft was careful not to make too many promises and it does not need a great deal of amendment to make it meet the real facts of the situation. I enclose a revised version, which has been cleared with the Colonial Office. You will see that we have

(i) omitted, in the second paragraph, the passage about unfavourable publicity and the attitude of African Ministers, which the Colonial Office would like you to communicate orally and not in writing;

(ii) brought the third para. up to date; and

/(iii)

CONFIDENTIAL

(iii) modified the fifth and the beginning of the sixth paragraphs, dealing with assurances, and run them into one paragraph.

3. It is of course embarrassing to have to admit to the Sudanese that we have lost track of the two men. But we assume that the Sudanese are bound to find this out sooner or later, particularly if the two were to start indulging in political activity directed against the Sudan régime from some new bolt-hole.

4. In the circumstances we suggest that you should now go ahead and put in this revised version. Your oral statement will of course also have to be modified somewhat from the lines set out in our tel. No. ~~1060~~ 1060 of Sept. 8, at any rate so far as para. 1(c)'s application to Tanganyika is concerned.

Flag D

llp
67a

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

Registry
No.

Top Secret.
Secret.
Confidential.
Restricted.
Open.

KP
TFB

Draft. M.F.A.

Note No.

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

*Print &
tell Engamere
Gally*

Her Britannic Majesty's Embassy present their compliments to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of the Sudan and have the honour to refer to the latter's Note No. MFA/SCR 36.H.3 of May 20 about certain Sudanese nationals who have recently taken refuge in Kenya and Uganda.

On instructions from Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom the Embassy wish to inform the Ministry as follows. Most careful consideration has been given by Her Majesty's Government and the East African Governments concerned to the request of the Sudan Government that these persons should be returned to the Sudan. The Ministry will realise this from the long delay in replying to their Note under reference. Her Majesty's Government have been anxious to meet the wishes of the Sudan Government whose friendship and co-operation they value highly. But ~~they~~ have had to take into account not only the danger of unfavourable publicity, to which reference has already been made, but also the attitude of African Ministers in Uganda and Tanganyika, both of which, and particularly the latter, are ~~rapidly~~ approaching independence. ~~It~~ has now become clear, as it was not earlier this year, that to return the refugees against their will would be politically unacceptable in the territories concerned. Any attempt to do so would cause a major outcry and would be likely

to/

to embitter relations between the Sudan and future African Governments in their neighbour territories for a long time to come.

Her Majesty's Government have therefore come to the conclusion that the ~~best~~ ^{best} course is to let the men stay where they are while taking all practicable steps to ensure that they do not engage in political activities. They wish the Ministry to know that in addition to those mentioned in the Ministry's Note under reference the following two Sudanese have also recently crossed into Uganda:-

Aggrey Jaden, a former Assistant District Commissioner

Marko Marjan, a former member of the Sudanese Parliament.

Of the total of nine refugees, Saturnino Lahore, William Deng and Joseph Oduho are in Tanganyika, having unfortunately managed to escape from surveillance in Uganda. Her Majesty's Government deeply regret that this should have happened. The remainder are all in Uganda, but none of them has been allowed to remain in the Northern Province bordering on the Sudan. Of the six refugees in Uganda, employment has been found for four and it is hoped that employment will be found shortly for the other two also.

In their Note No. MFA/SCR/36.H.3 of 11th July the Ministry stated that it had come to their knowledge that Deng was then in Addis Ababa in possession of a British passport.

The details of Deng's movements before he

reached/

Of the total of 9 refugees, Saturnino Lahore, William Deng and Joseph Oduho have unfortunately managed to escape from surveillance in Uganda. Deng is in Tanganyika. Saturnino Lahore and Joseph Oduho are believed to be there as well, but their whereabouts are at present unknown.

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

Registry
No.

Top Secret.
Secret.
Confidential.
Restricted.
Open.

Draft.

The Govts. of Uganda and Tanganyika will do everything possible to ensure that these refugees do not indulge in political activity and that they do not change their place of residence without the permission of the responsible authorities. But H.M.G. cannot give an absolute guarantee that these men will never be able to escape, as Saturnino Lahore and Joseph Oduho have done, any more than, they presume...

reached Tanganyika are not known to the Embassy, but they can assure the Sudan Government that Deng was not issued with a British passport or any other kind of British travel document.

X
~~The Governments of Uganda and Tanganyika~~
have undertaken that everything possible will be done to ensure that these refugees do not indulge in political activity and that they do not change their place of residence without the permission of the responsible authorities. The refugees have been given written notice that if they break these conditions they are liable to prosecution. In the case of Saturnino Lahore the authorities of his church have also given assurances that he will be kept under strict ecclesiastical discipline.

In spite of these arrangements, Her Majesty's Government cannot give an absolute guarantee that the men will never be able to escape, any more than, they presume, the Sudan Government could guarantee that no further refugees will cross into Kenya or Uganda. To enable such a guarantee to be given, a twenty-four watch on the men would be required, which is quite beyond local resources. And the nature of the terrain in the region makes it difficult to prevent illegal crossings of the borders, as it does between the Sudan and neighbouring territories. Nevertheless everything possible will be done to prevent escapes.

Her/

Her Majesty's Government recognise that the Sudan Government will be disappointed at this decision. But they hope that they will accept it, in the light of the above explanation, as the best possible in the circumstances and that they may come to regard it, as Her Majesty's Government do, as the solution which, in the long term, is in the best interests of all the governments concerned and of good relations between them.

U/E

LD
Gx

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

CONFIDENTIAL

(VS 1821/66)

FOREIGN OFFICE, S.W.1.

October 9, 1961.

In our telegram No. 1102 of September 22 we undertook to telegraph further instructions about the Sudanese refugees. Since then we have seen the Governor of Tanganyika's telegram Personal No. 359 of September 26 reporting the reappearance of Deng. But it seems quite clear that we cannot, as things are, give the Sudanese the assurances contained in the draft Note which you sent to us on September 12.

2. On the other hand that draft was careful not to make too many promises and it does not need a great deal of amendment to make it meet the real facts of the situation. I enclose a revised version, which has been cleared with the Colonial Office. You will see that we have

(1) omitted, in the second paragraph, the passage about unfavourable publicity and the attitude of African Ministers, which the Colonial Office would like you to communicate orally and not in writing;

(ii) brought the third paragraph up to date; and

(iii) modified the fifth and the beginning of the sixth paragraphs, dealing with assurances, and run them into one paragraph.

3. It is of course embarrassing to have to admit to the Sudanese that we have lost track of the two men. But we assume that the Sudanese are bound to find this out sooner or later, particularly if the two were to start indulging in political activity directed against the Sudan régime from some new bolt-hole.

4. In the circumstances we suggest that you should now go ahead and put in this revised version. Your oral statement will of course also have to be modified somewhat from the lines set out in our telegram No. 1060 of September 8, at any rate so far as paragraph 1(c)'s application to Tanganyika is concerned.

(R. S. Scrivener)

T. F. Branchley, Esq.,
KHARTOUM.

CONFIDENTIAL

M.F.A.
Note No.

Her Britannic Majesty's Embassy present their compliments to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of the Sudan and have the honour to refer to the latter's Note No. MFA/SCR 36.H.3 of the 20th of May about certain Sudanese nationals who have recently taken refuge in Kenya and Uganda.

On instructions from Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom the Embassy wish to inform the Ministry as follows. Most careful consideration has been given by Her Majesty's Government and the East African Governments concerned to the request of the Sudan Government that these persons should be returned to the Sudan. The Ministry will realise this from the long delay in replying to their Note under reference. Her Majesty's Government have been anxious to meet the wishes of the Sudan Government whose friendship and cooperation they value highly. But it has now become clear, as it was not earlier this year, that to return the refugees against their will would be politically unacceptable in the territories concerned. Any attempt to do so would cause a major outcry and would be likely to embitter relations between the Sudan and future African Governments in their neighbour territories for a long time to come.

Her Majesty's Government have therefore come to the conclusion that the best course is to let the men stay where they are while taking all practicable steps to ensure that they do not engage in political activities. They wish the

/Ministry

Ministry to know that in addition those mentioned in the Ministry's Note under reference the following two Sudanese have also recently crossed into Uganda

Aggrey Jaden, a former Assistant District Commissioner

Marko Marjan, a former member of the Sudanese Parliament

Of the total of 9 refugees, Saturnino Lahore, William Deng and Joseph Oduho have unfortunately managed to escape from surveillance in Uganda. Deng is in Tanganyika. Saturnino Lahore and Joseph Oduho are believed to be there as well, but their whereabouts are at present unknown. Her Majesty's Government deeply regret that this should have happened. The remainder are all in Uganda, but none of them has been allowed to remain in the Northern Province bordering on the Sudan. Of the six refugees in Uganda, employment has been found for four and it is hoped that employment will be found shortly for the other two also.

In their Note No. MFA/SCR/36.H.3 of the 11th of July the Ministry stated that it had come to their knowledge that Deng was then in Addis Ababa in possession of a British passport. The details of Deng's movements before he reached Tanganyika are not known to the Embassy, but they can assure the Sudan Government that Deng was not issued with a British passport or any other kind of British travel document.

The Governments of Uganda and Tanganyika will do everything possible to ensure that these refugees do not indulge in political activity and that they do not change their

/place

place of residence without the permission of the responsible authorities. But Her Majesty's Government cannot give an absolute guarantee that these men will never be able to escape, as Saturnino Lahore and Joseph Oduho have done, any more than, they presume, the Sudan Government could guarantee that no further refugees will cross into Kenya or Uganda. To enable such a guarantee to be given, a twenty-four watch on the men would be required, which is quite beyond local resources. And the nature of the terrain in the region makes it difficult to prevent illegal crossings of the borders, as it does between the Sudan and neighbouring territories. Nevertheless everything possible will be done to prevent escapes.

Her Majesty's Government recognise that the Sudan Government will be disappointed at this decision. But they hope that they will accept it, in the light of the above explanation, as the best possible in the circumstances and that they may come to regard it, as Her Majesty's Government do, as the solution which, in the long term, is in the best interests of all the governments concerned and of good relations between them.

U/E

CONFIDENTIAL

FROM KHART UM TO FOREIGN OFFICE

Cypher/OTP

DEPARTMENTAL

Mr. Brenchley

DISTRIBUTION

No. 791

D: 1.14 p.m. October 12, 1961

October 12, 1961

R: 1.32 p.m. October 12, 1961

CONFIDENTIAL

Addressed to Foreign Office telegram No. 791 of October 12
Repeated for information to:

Governor Uganda

Governor Tanganyika

and Saving to:

Governor Kenya [all personal]

Scrivener's letter VS1821/66 of October 9: Sudanese Refugees.

In the absence of Sudanese Minister for Foreign Affairs in the United States, I today delivered to the Permanent Under Secretary of State of the Ministry revised Note as agreed with the Colonial Office. I made oral points about the attitude of African ministers and the tightening up of surveillance in Uganda.

2. Mohammed Osman Yassein, who has always held strong views on this subject, reacted even more violently than I expected. He continually interrupted my statement of the position and treated me to a long angry outburst in Arabic at the end of it. The main points he made were:

- (a) Her Majesty's Government were still responsible for Uganda and Tanganyika and could not shuffle off their responsibilities on to African ministers or anyone else.
- (b) In any case, if we had returned refugees as soon as they were discovered we should have acted before Tanganyika and Uganda had approached so close to independence.

/(c)

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

Khartoum telegram No. 791 to Foreign Office

- 2 -

- (c) If the Governments in British East Africa were not prepared to cooperate with the Sudan Government, the Sudan Government would have to act accordingly in its dealings with them
- (d) Promises of surveillance were evidently worthless and he could only conclude that many authorities [grps. undec.] plot to infiltrate the whole of East and Central Africa including Southern Sudan.

3. I did my best to counter these wild charges despite the weakness of our position on certain points. My guess is that when he has had time to think things over he will simmer down and that reaction from other members of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs will be mild by comparison. Some officials of the Ministry of the Interior may have strong feelings but they too will no doubt get over them. The Minister of the Interior is also in the United States but I will speak to him on his return.

Foreign Office Pass Governors Uganda 61 and Tanganyika 17 and Saving Governor Kenya 24.

[Copy sent to telegraph section C.O. for repetition to Uganda and Tanganyika. Copy sent to telegraph section C.O. for repetition saving to Kenya]

DISTRIBUTED TO:

N.E.A.D.

United Nations Department

Information Policy Department

Information Research Department

GGGGG

CONFIDENTIAL

V

North and East African Department

VS 1821/67

SUDAN

FROM

Chancery,
Khartoum, 6
NEAD.

No.

IDENTIFIED
1591

Dated

Oct. 3.

Received

Oct. 4.

SUBJECT:

Sudan Refugees.

Encloses a copy of a letter from
William DENG to Colonel de Robert
inclosing a copy of one to the
Reverend Michael Scott.

References

159.

(Printing Instructions)

(Outward Action)

MINUTES

This is rather a pitiful story, but I am
afraid that Mr Deng and his friends
will have to reconcile themselves to 'Arab
domination'. I suppose that he shall be
hearing from Mr Michael Scott about this.
Let us hope that he directs his fire towards
the Sudan Embassy.

The name of Clement Mboro mentioned on
page 3 of the letter is a new one. The
others are as recorded.

Encloses 11/60

(RM Fourn)

NS.

11/60

Research Dept
(African Section)

IRD acc
13/10

This living question has been studiously
avoided by Power Commissioner lately.

ARC Bureau
13/10

15/60

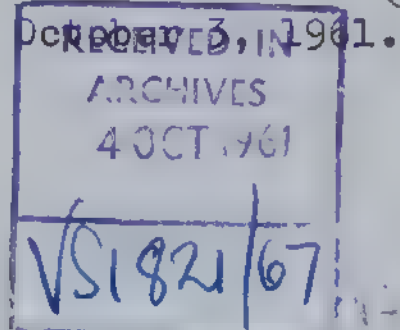
CONFIDENTIAL

(1591)



BRITISH EMBASSY,

KHARTOUM. ✓



Dear Department,

With reference to our telegram No. 732 of September 18 about the Sudanese refugees in Uganda and Tanganyika, we enclose a copy of a letter which William Deng wrote to Colonel de Robeck on August 29, enclosing a copy of one to the Reverend Michael Scott.

We are sending copies of this letter with enclosure to Dar Es Salaam and Entebbe.

Yours ever,

CHANCELY.

North & East African Department,
Foreign Office,
LONDON, S.W.1.

CONFIDENTIAL

P. O. Box 1453, Kirk Street,
Dar-Es-Salaam, Tanganyika,
East Africa.

29th August, 1961.

Colonel P. de Robeck,
20 Philbeach Gardens,
London, S. W. 3.

Dear Sir,

I would be glad to know if you have received my letter which was written from Kampala in about April or May this year.

I enclose herewith a copy of my letter addressed to Reverend Micheal Scott who has been introduced to me as a man who would be useful in our case. With it is a copy of a memorandum much of which is known to you. I have suggested to Rev. Scott that you know something about me in case he wants a reference in England and I think you are one of the British Officials who has not forgotten the South nor will you be forgotten by the South either. I think therefore that you will do all in your power to recommend our case to Rev. Scott for financial assistance. You can also let me know if there are any Organisations in England which might be interested to give us both moral and financial help.

The latest news from the Southern Sudan is that M. T. Tafeng who was released from prison this year has shot four Mondukur Officers in Torit and disappeared into the jungle and is believed to be joining those who are still fighting in the forest. Clement Mboro, Assistant Governor who was posted to Port Sudan has left the Country with all his family and entered Ethiopia. He is believed to be making for East Africa. Marko Rume, ex- M. P. for Kajokeji has crossed into Uganda and joined the refugees there.

I have been to Nairobi and Addis Ababa and I am looking forward to visit England. Hoping to hear from you at your earliest convenience,

Yours Sincerely,

W. Deng
William Deng.

William Deng,

P. O. Box 1463, Kirk Street,
Dar-Es-Salaam, Tanganyika,
East Africa.

26th August, 1961.

Reverend Michael Scott,

African Bureau, Denison B.

Great Southern Vauxhall,

Bridge Road, London,

England.

Dear Sir,

I am glad to know you through my friends and I may be able to meet you in the near future. I am a political refugee from the Southern Sudan and was forced to leave the Country in February this year. I used to be an Assistant District Commissioner in Equatoria Province which borders Uganda Protectorate.

You may have seen something about me in the London papers when her Majesty's Government was contemplating to return me to the Arabs of the Southern Sudan. I was however later given political asylum in East Africa, the actual place being Uganda. For this I thank God, the British Public who opposed the Government and also the British Constitution when there is little room for injustice.

I passed through Nairobi, Kenya and while negotiations were going on about me, I was being looked after in the Friends Centre by Rev. Michael Pittard of the Quaker's Church. I am a Roman Catholic but I belong to a group of Christians which does not use a magnifying glass when looking at differences between various Christian Churches. I can only see a big difference between Christian Churches and other religions. In fact I recently, about the 4th of July, addressed a meeting by members of the Christian Council of Kenya, at an invitation by an African Secretary of the Council, Mr. Shem Ombaya, Box 800 Nairobi. The European members at

the meeting described my talk as "a most illuminating talk" on the Southern Sudan.

At present, the situation in the Southern Sudan is as depressing as it was during the period of Arab slave-raids on the South. There are now over 10,000 refugees in Uganda alone and about 8,000 scattered between the Congo and Central African Republic (formerly known as French Equatorial Africa). About 1600 are in Ethiopia.

As there is no agreed constitution yet, we are not bound to the Arab North and ~~we~~ we have decided to separate rather than secede. The word secession gives the meaning of coming away from an integral whole which is not the case with us. Ours is separation which gives the sense of separating people who have been fighting and indeed we have fought with the Arabs since the beginning of Sudan history until the present day. We want self-determination and nothing short of that will do.

If in 1884 General Gordon knew that the Egyptian Government would sell us to the Arabs for doubtful political gains, he ~~if~~ would not have sacrificed his life to the Arabs in order to save the South from slavery. The failure of the British Government to save General Gordon and their failure over the Suez Canal and the Southern Sudan proves that the British Government can make serious mistakes and it therefore needs advice from Churchmen who combine religious with political experience. We therefore need your help both moral and material. The Church is the custodian of civilisation which the materialists now want to destroy.

The Arabs want to replace Christianity with Islam in the South, but Islam is such a backward religion that we can hardly gain anything from it - say more than what the Southern slaves who became Muslims have gained; they have become stateless society leading a most disgruntled life on earth.

We now have a Christian Association in Uganda with almost equal membership from the Roman Catholic and Protestant Christian denominations. This Association has a branch in Addis Ababa and its membership includes six refugee ex-members of the dissolved Sudan Sudan Parliament and three Senior Administrators as shown below:

- ✓ 1. Mr. N. Saturnino Lohure Torit North Constituency
- ✓ 2. Mr. Joseph Oduho, Torit Central "
- ✓ 3. Mr. Ferdinand Adyang, (former Minister) Kapoeta "
- ✓ 4. Mr. Innocent O. Acholi "
- ✓ 5. Mr. Nathaniel Oyot Kapoeta Central "
- ✓ 6. Mr. Marko Rume Kajokeji "
- ? 7. Mr. Clement Mboro Deputy Governor formerly, last post Port Sudan
- ✓ 8. Mr. Aggrey Gaden Iedo, former Assistant District Commissioner, last post Malakal
- ✓ 9. Mr. William Deag, " " " " " Kapoeta

We are finding a lot of sympathy from African political leaders in East Africa and the chances are that they may come to our side and the chances are also that we may join the Commonwealth through the Federation of East Africa but we leave that as a question mark; that will have to be decided by the people as a whole in the South and it will also depend on the interest shown to us by the neighbouring African tribes. Our most difficult time is between now and independence of East Africa particularly Uganda and Kenya. The British Government as represented in East Africa is afraid of us because they think that we might cause a flare up before handing over political power to Africans but we are not fools to do that at the moment. What we rather need now is as much quiet contacts as possible but we cannot even do this effectively for lack of funds. We would therefore ask you for financial assistance to enable us run the Christian Association. If you could invite me and arrange my transport to England, I could come as a quiet guest and discuss details with you personally. This will give me an opportunity to see in England some of my friends who were forced to leave the Southern Sudan against the wish of the Southerners.

I enclose herewith a copy of a short memorandum on the Southern Sudan which I hope will give you a fair picture of the situation. What is discussed in the letter and the memorandum is no emotion, neither is it religious fanaticism but it is a matter which affects great principles interwoven in the lives of the Africans of the Southern Sudan. It seems that the highest common multiple of all freedoms is political freedom without which other freedoms would be difficult to practice. Without political freedom religious freedom is almost impossible to practice particularly when dealing with an uncivilized heart.

Publicity of this material would be most desirable but remember that certain points are confidential and were meant for ~~you~~ you only or men of your standing and understanding. It is not yet too late to win our freedom. In fact there are big chances if and only if we can get the right help, at the right time and at the right moment.

Best regards,

Yours Sincerely,


William Deng.

(On behalf of Southern Sudan Refugees Christian Association)

The worsening conditions of the Africans in the Southern Sudan under the ruthless Arab regime has necessitated our leaving the Country with the hope of publicizing the plight of our people from the World's public forum. The following survey is a first-hand information not underbidding the difficult situation in which the Africans in the Sudan are placed.

The Sudan is geographically and ethnically divided in two parts, the North which is mainly occupied by the Arabs; and the South which is African. The Arabs constitute thirty-nine percent of the Country's population or ten million inhabitants. The African South has four to five million inhabitants. During the last fifty years of Anglo-Egyptian rule the two parts were administered separately; the North being wholly Muslim and predominantly Arab while the South was predominantly Christian put together with their pagan sympathizers. This position is still true up to this moment. Because of the bad relations between the Arabs and Africans, the former were not allowed to come to the South except under a licence to trade. Only Christian Missionaries of various denominations imparted education in the South.

In 1947 the British Government decided to start a policy of uniting the South with the North while the policy had been to develop the "South as" African and Negroid lines". The reason for this move were suspected by the Southerners to have been connected with Britain's own interests in the Middle East because the Africans of the South were not consulted. The British Government however had hoped that some kind of solution would be found while they were still there but events moved faster than what they had expected and they were forced to leave things half way and back. They had miscalculated as many British admitted later. From that time onwards against the protests of the African Arabs were fleeing South as Government officials, merchants and laborers. On 12th February 1955 a final agreement of unity was signed in Cairo between Britain on one side and the Arabs (Both Egyptians and Northern Sudanese) on the other.

Africans were not represented. That Agreement became the Self-Government Statute. It was not discussed in the Sudan Parliament in which the Africans were represented but was simply promulgated by the Governor-General. During the transitional period of self-rule the Africans strongly objected to the unity on the grounds that the South differed from the North in race, culture, religion, the general background, mental outlook and in all other respects. History repeats itself. It was therefore feared by the Southerners that the Arabs would revive slavery and this fear has or is becoming true although in a different form. The Africans were heard.

On the 1st of August, 1955 the Africans revolted against the Arabs and freed the South from Arab colonization but the British Government intervened through the Governor-General who asked the Africans to put down their arms and he promised to see to it that the Africans' grievances were redressed. When this was done, the Governor-General failed for one reason or another and he left the Africans unarmed in the hands of the well armed, enraged and vengeful Arabs. Arab brutality therefore expressed itself in all its savage forms. Hundreds of Africans were shot and thousands were jailed for sentences ranging from five years to life imprisonment. The prisoners were given hard labour in the Northern prisons where many of them died and some are still there to-day.

In 1956, the Arabs declared the Sudan independent. Egypt and England accepted it under the agreement of 1955 in which the South was not represented. In 1958 a Constituent Assembly was formed to draft a permanent constitution for the country. The Africans made it clear that the South must separate from the Arab North. After months of discussion the Africans accepted a federal form of Government as the only possible compromise and made it clear that if this were turned down the alternative would be complete separation. The Arabs refused and their politicians decided to hand over the Government to the Army in which the South is not represented. This is how the Army came into power in the Sudan on 17th November, 1958. Since then the Army regime is carrying out the policy laid by their Arab politicians.

do not fear for the Southern question because they are backed by arms. The aim of the policy is the extension of the Arab World into the interior of Africa as far as the source of the Nile which is in Uganda and perhaps further if not checked. In other words the Arabs intend to replace the European colonialism in Africa with their own colonialism for a permanent domination of Africa. This policy is now being experimented in the Sudan in the African South. The methods applied are the age-long Arabisation process. Arabs are fast settling in the South taking to themselves African women and girls as concubines and through rapes in order to produce an Arab progeny in the South. This will only complicate the problem because the children from African concubine girls taken during slavery have no status today in the North and they are leading a most disgruntled life. The African female parent is abandoned in the street if the Arab happens to leave for the North. Arab settlers backed by the Administration, the Army, the Police, the Judiciary all of which are in the Arab hands, take the best part of the land from the Africans who are forced by the terrible circumstances either to work as a servant under the Arab master or forced to seek a dwelling in a poorer part of the country. African population is being reduced into a servile community.

At the expense of Christianity Islam is being now propagated throughout the South directly by the Government through the Ministry of religious Affairs. The Government builds Mosques and Khatwas (Quranic school). All Arabs in the South are Missionaries to a ^{more} or less degree. Chiefs are forced to become Muslims; results of the conversions to Islam are announced now and then from the national Broadcasting Station of Addis Ababa. Arabic has been declared since independence the only national and official language of the Country; it is the medium of education and even the African native languages must be written if at all in Arabic letters of the Alphabet not in the Roman characters as was the case during the past fifty years. As far as education alone is concerned, the language problem has set the South fifty to forty years back. It is used as a means of eliminating Africans from Government jobs with the result that only Arabs are now occupying all posts throughout the country.

The few African holding posts most of which are very insignificant can be ignored if the African freedom movement fails and this will mainly depend on the amount of support they will get from the neighbouring African countries since at present within the Sudan is ruthlessly crushed to the extent of shooting children and women.

Christianity is the main target of destruction in the Sudan. Arabs have their reasons. They are aware that the South belongs to the African Negro world and not to the Arab world; they are aware that the South has a strong Christian outlook with nearly five hundred thousand Christians; that the two thousand African Muslims are in complete accord with their Christian nationals in their demand of freedom; that the rulers of the South have strong and lasting conviction in Christianity the members of which are found almost in every African family and which yearly receive thousands of the pagans into the Church; they are also aware that the countries bordering the South such as Uganda, Kenya, Malawi, the Congo and Central Africa are still predominantly Christian in outlook; that the present political boundaries are not in the least atypical with the result that many tribes at these borders are partly in the Sudan and partly in all adjacent countries. They are aware that unless something be done now to isolate the Africans of the South from their natural neighbours in the above-mentioned countries, the South might be lost if it links with a black African country. Such a link however is inevitable if African Unity means anything. Islam is the only means of isolation and must therefore be propagated as fast as can be possibly done. Christianity the antithesis of Islam must be fought tooth and nail.

Pressure is put to bear on the Missionaries so that they may quit the Country. Thirty to forty Missionaries have been expelled from the South after farcical trials based on unfounded accusations. The Government sees to it that those still in the Sudan should be kept off contacts with their Christians and in certain cases the Missionaries are not allowed to visit their faithfuls. Economic pressure is another way of fighting Christianity with the hope that this might force the Missionaries to leave the Country. All Missionary work has been closed down despite the fact that they are used to train Africans in various crafts.

Missionaries are forbidden to sell anything they produce such as furniture, vegetables, fruits, coffee etc. Missionary hospitals, maternity houses, dispensaries and even bookshops which provide varied literature are closed. Missionaries are used to work in civil hospitals have been sacked. No Missionary is allowed to give a pill to a patient even on cases of emergency.

As early as 1888 all Mission schools in the South were taken by the Government and since then no private schools are allowed in the South whereas in the North private bodies are having schools. For instance the Egyptian Government maintains a complete University, Secondary and Primary schools as the following extract from the Official handbook Sudan Almanac, 1900 shows:

Egyptian schools, including one University	54
Community schools mainly Middle Eastern	70
Local private schools (Khalifa)	66
Total	200

R. B. The Egyptian private schools in the North are almost one third of the total number of schools provided by the Government in the North and the most important subject taught in these schools is Arab unity. Egypt thereby hopes to absorb the North and along with it the South in by time we are not yet free. If absorption succeeds, our position will be even worse because instead of one we will be having two wolves conspiring to exploit the the South for their own ends.

The next move after the take-over of the Mission schools is now to shift all schools' children from the Mission premises to newly built Government schools far from the Mission Stations. The new schools have a Khrouk school attached from which the intake to Government elementary schools is drawn. Christian parents are left with no choice other than accepting no Islamic education or do without education at all. In other words Christians and persons alike are forced to accept Islam.

Though thirty-nine percent of the Country's population the Arabs to-day are in power controlling the administration, the Army, the Police and the Judiciary.

In 1950 the Arabs' regime declared Sunday a working day in the Christian South with their Muslim Friday as resting day throughout the Sudan.

Economically the South is completely neglected. In the seven-year plan which involves a capital expenditure of 27,000,000 pounds the South gets no share. The South is kept for the time being as a main supplier of raw materials to the Arab-North. For instance Africans are made to grow tobacco but the tobacco factories are in the North; papyrus is taken from the South to ~~the~~ paper-factories in the North; sugar-cane which has natural climatic conditions in the South is being grown in very unsuitable conditions of the North. It has been made known that the South will only be developed when and only when it is racially absorbed by the Arab North but that is the very idea which the South wants to oppose by all means.

Until to-day the Sudan has no constitution because the Africans who form sixty one percent of the population have always objected to a unitary form of constitution as envisaged by the Arabs. To get their constitution through the Arabs had planned to detain in jail all influential Africans. A number of members of Parliament were arrested, tried and imprisoned as the following list shows:

1. Rev. Fr. Pauline Rogale	17 years
2. Mr. Dominic Mworwa	10 "
3. " Milton Mandiri	10 "
4. " Mr. Emilio Dool	5 "
5. " James Johneth	5 "
6. " Peter Igou	5 "
7. Albino Arut	3 "
8. Samuel Fomsi	5 years of exile.

To this number could be added ~~hundreds and hundreds of~~ hundreds and hundreds of civilian Africans from every walk of life that are ~~in the~~ ⁱⁿ warning prisons throughout the Sudan simply because they are disgusted of the Arab rule. Finally the Sudan Government decided to arrest the remaining African leaders of the South most of whom managed to escape into Uganda early this year. They consist of six members of the dissolved Parliament and three

Administrators. This set up the number of refugees is close to well over ten thousand; there are five thousand scattered between the Congo and France. In Africa, now known as Central African Republic; there are five hundred refugees in Senegal.

Subsistence in the Sudan is strictly off forbidden by Arab regime and by the use of closed districts order, journalists are prevented from going to the Sudan. The refugees met with a similar restriction in Egypt where they have political asylum because the British Government is afraid to court any publicity might affect their relations with the Arabs. This is one of the main reasons why nothing has been known about our case. As a matter of fact we still have a fighting guerrilla war going on with the Arabs today. It is our hope that African governments will give us more freedom when East Africa becomes independent. Any link with a black African country will be of great mutual benefit to Africa economically, culturally and even in matters of security. The South is 50,000 miles from the North. The Sudan and Egypt are put together and it is well equipped in a variety of resources. To prevent any domination and exploitation by the Arabs, an Islamic would appear in practical terms to mean a grouping of black Africans just as the Arabs (as well as Africans of North Africa) have done by forming the Arab League.

While in East Africa no refugees from the Southern Sudan intend to keep alive

the Organizations on which we pin our last hope for freedom. The Organizations are: 1. Southern African Sudanese Christian Association which has members from Christians of all various denominations and the aim is to keep the true Christian spirit among the refugees in East Africa. 2. A new political party (in place of the dissolved one) known as South African Liberation Movement or for short S. L. M. to publicize the plight of the 6 million Africans now oppressed by the Arabs. Our main difficulty at the moment in running these Organizations is the lack of funds.

Signature: *W. D. Ong*
(on behalf of refugees)
(on behalf of refugees.)

V

North and East African Department

VS 1821/68.

SUDAN

FROM

Mr. Breuchley,
Khartoum.

SUBJECT:

Sudan refugees -

Mr. Breuchley presented the revised Note
to the P.U.S. for Foreign Affairs.

Mohammed Ismael Youssef's reaction.

CONFIDENTIAL

No.

791

Dated

Oct. 12.

Received

Oct. 13.

References

/66.

MINUTES

Copy to Mr. Weber, Central Office.

Wes
16/10

(Printing Instructions)

(Outward Action)

86) Mr. Weber, C. O. D. 17

(Action
completed)

SRP

17/10/61

(Main Indexed)

22/11/62

V

CONFIDENTIAL

FROM KHARTOUM TO FOREIGN OFFICE

Cypher/OTP

DEPARTMENTAL
DISTRIBUTION

Mr. Brenchley

No. 791

D: 1.14 p.m. October 12, 1961

October 12, 1961

R: 1.32 p.m. October 12, 1961

CONFIDENTIAL

Addressed to Foreign Office telegram No. 791 of October 12
Repeated for information to:

Governor Uganda
Governor Tanganyika

RECEIVED IN
ARCHIVES
13 OCT 1961

and Saving to:

Governor Kenya [all personal]

VS1821/68

Scrivener's letter VS1821/66 of October 9: Sudanese Refugees.

In the absence of Sudanese Minister for Foreign Affairs in the United States, I today delivered to the Permanent Under Secretary of State of the Ministry revised Note as agreed with the Colonial Office. I made oral points about the attitude of African ministers and the tightening up of surveillance in Uganda.

2. Mohammed Osman Yassein, who has always held strong views on this subject, reacted even more violently than I expected. He continually interrupted my statement of the position and treated me to a long angry outburst in Arabic at the end of it. The main points he made were:

- (a) Her Majesty's Government were still responsible for Uganda and Tanganyika and could not shuffle off their responsibilities on to African ministers or anyone else.
- (b) In any case, if we had returned refugees as soon as they were discovered we should have acted before Tanganyika and Uganda had approached so close to independence.

/(c)

CONFIDENTIAL

RECEIVED IN
ARCHIVES
13 OCT 1961

CONFIDENTIAL

Khartoum telegram No. 791 to Foreign Office

- 2 -

- (c) If the Governments in British East Africa were not prepared to cooperate with the Sudan Government, the Sudan Government would have to act accordingly in its dealings with them.
- (d) Promises of surveillance were evidently worthless and he could only conclude that many authorities [grps. undec.] plot to infiltrate the whole of East and Central Africa including Southern Sudan.

3. I did my best to counter these wild charges despite the weakness of our position on certain points. My guess is that when he has had time to think things over he will simmer down and that reaction from other members of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs will be mild by comparison. Some officials of the Ministry of the Interior may have strong feelings but they too will no doubt get over them. The Minister of the Interior is also in the United States but I will speak to him on his return.

Foreign Office pass Governors Uganda 61 and Tanganyika 17 and Saving Governor Kenya 24.

[Copy sent to telegraph section C.O. for repetition to Uganda and Tanganyika. Copy sent to telegraph section C.O. for repetition saving to Kenya]

DISTRIBUTED TO:

N.E.A.D.
United Nations Department
Information Policy Department
Information Research Department

GCGGG

CONFIDENTIAL

V

North and East African Department

VS 1821/69

FROM

(C.O. communicated)
Mr Henry Clarke
M.P. to
Mr Mandelling.

No.

Dated

Received

Oct. 24.
Oct. 30.

SUBJECT:

Sudan Refugees. -
Encloses a letter from WILLIAM DENG
complaining about restrictions on his
movements in East Africa.

References

170 / 71.

MINUTES

See - / 71.

for
S/O.

(Printing Instructions)

(Outward Action)

(Action
completed)

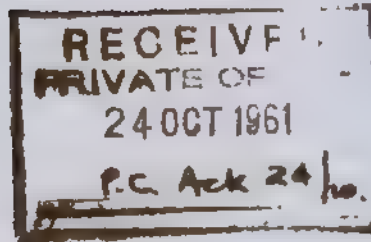
(Main Indexed)

[Signature]
7/12/61.

[Signature]
9/14/62

From Henry M. Clark, M.P.

173



VS 182/69

House of Commons,

London, S.W. 1

24th October, 1961.

Dear Mr. Maudling

When I was in Dar es Salaam in September this year, I visited the P.A.F.M.E.C.A. offices, and by chance met one William Deng, who was at one time an Administrative Officer in the Southern Sudan, and is now a political refugee in British East Africa. I enclose a letter from Mr. Deng in which he asks that the restrictions on his movements in East Africa should be raised, and that he and his friends should have complete freedom of movement.

The position with regard to these political refugees from the Southern Sudan is obviously an extremely difficult one, for while we wish to maintain the friendliest possible relations with Khartoum, there is very widespread sympathy for the position of the Southern Sudan, both in East Africa and in this country. Mr. Deng on more than one occasion when I was talking to him said "we Africans have found that the Arabs are very cruel people indeed, and in the Southern Sudan we must fight for our freedom much more fiercely than the people of East Africa have had to fight for independence." It strikes me that these agitators can be both a liability and at the same time an asset in any negotiations that we have with Khartoum, and that their position should be kept carefully under review. Mr. Deng claims that as well as the twelve or fifteen principle political refugees there are ten to twenty thousand Sudanese refugees in Uganda, who have crossed the border for one reason or another.

I have replied to Mr. Deng's letter that I would be delighted to further his claims for greater freedom of movement within East Africa, but I can clearly do nothing to assist his fight for Southern Sudan's independence. I thought you would be interested to look into this matter.

yours sincerely
Henry Clark

The Rt. Hon. Reginald Maudling, M.P.,
Colonial Officer
Great Smith Street,
London, S.W. 1.

P. O. Box 1463,
Kirk Street, Dar-Es-Salaam,
Tanganyika, East Africa.
9th September, 1961.

Mr Henry Clark, M. P.

House of Commons,

L.A.

Sir,

Reference our short meeting in Dar-Es-Salaam when you were here recently. I have informed the other refugees from Southern Sudan that you were going to take action which might remove the restrictions imposed upon us by the East African Governments. We would therefore be grateful to know what the Colonial Secretary, Mr. Macleod is doing for us. The passports of Mr. Saturnine H. Lore and Mr. Joseph Oduke were taken away by the Uganda Government and strict conditions for our stay were issued of which I quote the following in my case: "..... This Permit is valid from 5th April, 1961 to 31st December, 1961, and is subject to the following conditions:- You will proceed to Kampala and remain within a 10-mile radius of that town. If you wish to leave Kampala you will obtain permission in writing from the Resident Buganda. You will report to the Resident Buganda once per week. Whilst within the Uganda Protectorate you will not indulge in any political activity."

The three of us therefore decided to come to Tanganyika where we had hoped to have more freedom but again we met with difficulties; the following orders were issued to us: "To report to the Immigration Department once per week; not to leave Dar es Salaam; to report any change of address in Dar es Salaam; not to make any statement to the Press or to seek publicity in any way." If it is the British Government which is standing on our way, then we do not know what wrong we have done to deserve this kind of treatment. We had nothing against the British Colonial administration in the Sudan because we in the South still needed British protection until such time we were in a position to decide our own future and our choice would have been to link with our brothers in East Africa

which is now becoming independent. Through miscalculations, we were handed over to the Arabs who are now enslaving us. If the oppressed people in the World can publicise their case (and I have seen such publicity even against the British Government as regards colonies) why should we be prevented from publicising our plight? Whatever political gains the British Government may expect from the Arabs of the Sudan, the restrictions are incompatible with the British system of justice.

From my own knowledge as an ~~exp~~ ex-administrator the Arab foreign policy is not in favour of Britain. The Military-take-over of Government which at one time some Western Powers thought to be a good move has produced exactly the opposite results. Nasser of Egypt and the Communist countries are finding General Abboud a good agent and the latter is now employing tactics in order to gain sufficient strength for a complete about-turn from the West. To add the 4 million Africans of the South to Arab World against their will weakens the position of black Africans for who knows where the ambitions of Nasser will end. Abboud is no longer bound by public opinion and with the arrest of the son of Mahdi Abdalla Khalil and other leading politicians, the pro-Egypt and or communist elements have gained the upper hand in the Northern Sudan.

To continue to stand on our way does not therefore appear to favour in the long run the British Government or the Southern Sudanese. We appear to be used as a pawn in Anglo-Arab politics. We should be allowed to inform quietly the African political leaders who might come to our aid. Remember "Justice delayed is justice denied."

Hoping to hear from you soon.

Yours Sincerely,

W.D. Deng
William Deng.

V

North and East African Department

V S.1821/70

SUDAN

FROM Colonial Office
(to Tanganyika)

SUBJECT:

Indan Refugees -

DENG's letter to Mr Clark M.P.

Asks for details of restrictions
imposed on DENG by the Tanganyika
Govt.

CONFIDENTIAL

No. 456

Dated Oct. 26.

Received Oct. 30.

References

/69. /71

MINUTES

A) Tanganyika to C.O. (comid) 389 - 27/10.

(Printing Instructions)

(Outward Action)

(Action
completed)

(Main Indexed)

2/12/61.

9/11/62

CONFIDENTIAL

OUTWARD TELEGRAM

FROM THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES

TO TANGANYIKA (Sir R.G. Turnbull)

Cypher (O.T.P.)

EAF/430/671/02

Sent 26th October, 1961. 23.15 hrs.

VS1821/70

PRIORITY

CONFIDENTIAL AND PERSONAL

PERSONAL No. 456

Your telegram Personal No. 359.

Deng.

Henry Clark, M.P. has asked for comments on a letter from Deng dated 9th September complaining about restrictions on his movements.

2. If you agree I propose to take line that Tanganyika Government cannot permit him to use territory as a base for political activities against the Sudan and (your telegram Personal No. 346) that Deng has given undertakings to comply with Tanganyika Government's requirements. I would also point out that Deng has already disregarded Uganda Government's requirements and that this underlines necessity for controls.

3. Above is on assumption that this is matter within your discretion. Otherwise I would inform Clark that it is within competence of Tanganyika Government and not a matter upon which H.M.G. could intervene.

4. Grateful to learn details and form of undertakings given by Deng, what restrictions are imposed on his movements, and under what authority.

(Cost of telegram £6 3s. 9d.)

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

INWARD TELEGRAM

TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES

FROM TANGANYIKA (Sir R. Turnbull)

Cypher (O.T.P.)

D. 27th October, 1961.
R. 27th " " 16.10 hours.

VS1821/10(A)

PRIORITY
CONFIDENTIAL AND PERSONAL
PERSONAL No. 389

— VS1821 |

Your telegram Personal No. 456.

Deng.

As you are aware action taken by Tanganyika Government in respect of Deng followed discussion I had with Minister for Home Affairs on receipt of your (?Uganda intended) telegram Personal No. 39. Matter is however clearly within the competence of the Tanganyika Government whose attitude is as stated in my telegram Personal No. 359. Suggest you take the line most advantageous to H.M.G.

2. Deng, who is a prohibited immigrant by definition under Immigration Ordinance Cap. 386, has been required to sign an undertaking in the following terms:-

- (1) to report to Immigration Department once a week;
- (2) not to leave Dar es Salaam;
- (3) to report any change of address in Dar es Salaam to Immigration Department;
- (4) not to make any statement to press or to seek publicity in any way.

3. Authority for imposition of conditions on a prohibited immigrant is under Section 6 (1) of Cap. 386.

For your information, Deng is notoriously untruthful and unreliable.

CONFIDENTIAL

V

North and East African Department

VS 1821/71.

SUDAN

SUBJECT:

Sudan Refugees. -
DENG's letter to Mr Clark, M.P. -
Draft reply to Mr Clark's letter
of Oct. 24.

FROM

Colonial
Office.

No.

FAF/430/671/02.

Dated

Undated.

Received

Oct. 30.

References

/69. /70.

MINUTES

See within.

(Printing Instructions)

(Outward Action)

(Action
completed)

7/12/61

(Main Indexed)

9/11/62

SUDAN REFUGEES.

Please see, at -/69, a copy of Mr. Clark's letter of October 24 to the Colonial Secretary, enclosing a copy of a letter from William Deng. The Colonial Office have also sent us (at -/71) a copy of their proposed draft reply to Mr. Clark. They wd. like urgent clearance.

2. Mr. Clark is Ulster Unionist M.P. for Antrim N. and it is perhaps slightly ominous that he has replied to Mr. Deng saying that he "would be delighted to further his claims for greater freedom of movement within East Africa....". So far as I know, this is the first time one of the Sudan refugees has appealed to a M.P. and we shall no doubt hear more of this.

3. I think we can accept the C.O.'s draft reply but I have pencilled in some suggested amendments/

amendments designed to make
a more convincing case. As it
stands, I think the draft is
perhaps a little un- and might
be counter-productive.

fuldes
30/10.

Mr. Scriver.

I agree with your
amendments

N.S.
31/10

In Mr. Woolerton's absence, I
passed the suggested amendments to
Mr. Rolfe in the C.O. who agreed with
them. He undertook to let us have
2 copies of the final version of the
reply to Mr. Clark (who is, I now
understand, an ex-D.C. in Tanganyika),
one of which can be sent to Kharbom.

2. ~~to~~ 1 week.

ful
31/10.

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN

A) Colonial Office (copy of letter
from Mr Macdell to Mr Clark M.P.)
Oct. 31.

Ans
4/12

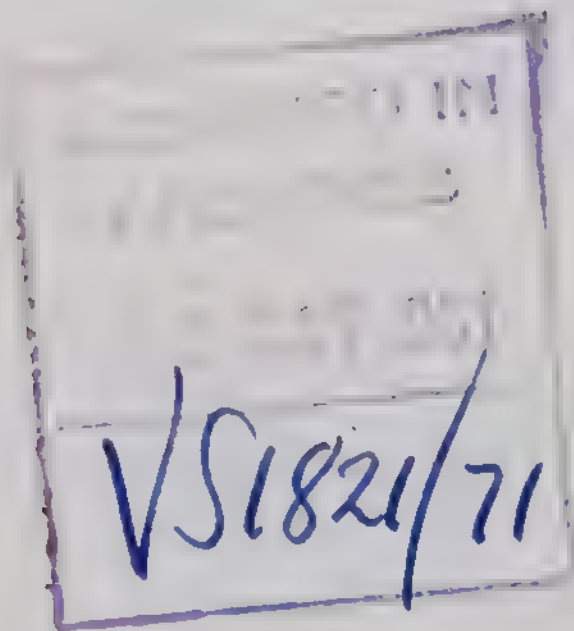
NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN

M. Edes Esq FO



With the compliments of

Mr Woodhouse



COLONIAL OFFICE
GREAT SMITH STREET
LONDON S.W.1

ZAF 430/671/02

Mr. Woolverton

Mr. Rolfe

Mr. West

LETTER

H.M. Clark, Esq., M.P.,
House of Commons,
London, S.W.1.

You wrote to me on the 24th October about William Deng, a Sudanese refugee in Tanganyika, who has complained about restrictions imposed on his movements.

I think it might be helpful if I explain the background to this case. Deng arrived in Kenya from the Sudan in February, 1961, seeking to join friends in Uganda where he wished to be granted political asylum. He was allowed to enter Uganda in March, 1961, and was issued with a permit under the terms of the Control of Alien Refugees Ordinance on condition that he did not engage in any political activities and that he did not leave the Protectorate without permission. He broke both these conditions in July by fleeing to Tanganyika from where he secured publication of an inflammatory letter in a Nairobi newspaper entitled "LET ME TELL THE WORLD OF MY PEOPLES' PLIGHT".

Although Deng has been declared a prohibited immigrant in Tanganyika, the Tanganyika Government have allowed him to remain in the territory. [But the Tanganyika Government cannot risk the embarrassment of his using] the territory as a base for political activities against [the Sudan Government] ^{himself} [and] for this reason he was required to sign an undertaking to report to the Immigration Department once a week, not to leave Dar es Salaam, to report any change of address in Dar es Salaam to the Immigration Department, and not to make any statements to the Press or to seek publicity in any way.

As you suggest, the Tanganyika Govt are anxious to maintain friendly relations with the Sudanese Govt and they are not therefore disposed to allow Deng to use

As Deng has already disregarded the requirements of the Uganda Government with embarrassing consequences, this underlines the necessity for control over his activities in Tanganyika. But this is in any case a matter ^{entirely} within the competence of the Tanganyika Government and it is not, therefore, a question on which I could intervene.

In the circumstances,
the restrictions
appear to be
reasonable and
the Tanganyikan
authorities are, of
course, entitled to

to impose conditions on
a potential immigrant
under.

100-100000

You are hereby notified that the following information is being furnished to you for your information and use only. This information is being furnished to you for your information and use only.

I am hereby notified that the following information is being furnished to me for my information and use only. This information is being furnished to me for my information and use only. I am hereby notified that the following information is being furnished to me for my information and use only. This information is being furnished to me for my information and use only.

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100-100000



VS1821/71(A)

With the compliments of
**THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE
FOR THE COLONIES**

as requested by phone

**COLONIAL OFFICE
GREAT SMITH STREET
LONDON S.W.1**

V

North and East African Department

V S1821/72

FROM

Chancery,
Khartoum, to
NEAD.

CONFIDENTIAL.

No. 1591.

Dated Nov. 8.

Received Nov. 13.

SUBJECT:

Sudan Refugees.

Colonel de Robeck has received
another letter from DENG saying that
he intends to remain in Tanganyika
until independence.

References


/67.

MINUTES


When Tanganyika becomes independent next month
his problem will largely fall to Mr Nyerere
and his cabinet. It seems unlikely that
Deng, Sakumino or Odiako will ever
return openly to a British colonial territory.

(Printing Instructions)

(Outward Action)



20/11

Research Dept
(African Section)
A. Lees
23/11


28/11

(Action
completed)

(Main Indexed)


29/11/62

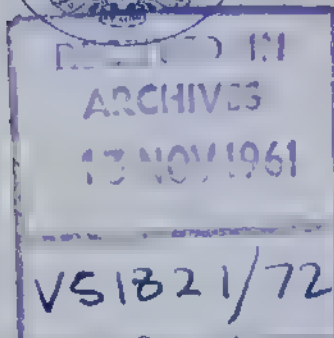

29/11/62

CONFIDENTIAL



✓

(1591)



BRITISH EMBASSY,
KHARTOUM.

November 8, 1961.

Dear Department,

VS184/61

Will you please refer to our letter (1591) of October 3, with which we enclosed a copy of a letter sent to Colonel de Robeck by William Deng?

2. Colonel de Robeck tells us he received another letter from Deng about two weeks ago. In it Deng said he had been refused help by the religious organisation in the United Kingdom to which he had appealed. He said his intention now was to remain in Tanganyika until that territory becomes independent.

3. We are sending a copy of this letter to Dar es Salaam and to Entebbe.

Yours ever,

CHANCERY

North & East African Department,
Foreign Office,
LONDON, S.W.1.

CONFIDENTIAL

V

NORTH AND EAST AFRICAN DEPT.

SUDAN

VS 1821/73

FROM Mr Stacpool,
Colonial Office,
to Mr Miles.

SECRET

No. EAF/430/671/02

Dated Nov. 16.

Received Nov. 20.

SUBJECT:

Sudan Refugees.

Escape of the refugees from Uganda.
Encloses a letter from Entebbe to the
C.O. explaining delays in the detection
of the ~~set~~ escapes.

References

VS 1821/58 156.

MINUTES

This doesn't add much

This
23/11

(Printing Instructions)

(Outward Action)

(Action
completed)

SRR
29/11/61

(Main Indexed)

rsd
9/11/61

SECRET

Not v. continuing.



COLONIAL OFFICE 1) Mr. Sutcliffe

GREAT SMITH STREET, LONDON S.W.1

Telephone: ABBey 1266, ext.

2) Enter 17/11

RECEIVED IN
ARCHIVES

16 November, 1961.

20 NOV 1961

ful
16/11

Our reference: EAF. 430/671/02
Your reference: VS 1821

Dear Edes,

VS 1821/73.

VS 1821/58

With reference to Mr. Heath's letter of the 8th September and to Lord Perth's reply of the 12th September about the Sudanese refugees, I enclose for the record a copy of a letter from Champion in Uganda which explains the steps taken to trace Saturnino and the other refugees when they disappeared.

Yours sincerely,

J.W. Stacpoole

(J.W. Stacpoole)

M. EDES, ESQ.,
Foreign Office.

SECRET

SECRET

COPY

D.G. S.8306

Ministry of Security and
External Relations,
P.O. Box 101,
Entebbe,
Uganda.

4th November, 1961.

Dear John,

When the Governor was home for the Constitutional Conference he was given a copy of a note from Mr. Heath in the Foreign Office to Lord Perth dated 8th September about the Sudanese refugees. This letter contained a series of dates which led the Foreign Office to conclude that we had not been so spry as we might have been in keeping an eye on the refugees.

Although we must admit the arrangements we have been making for the surveillance of refugees were not as tight as perhaps they should have been the facts are not quite as bad as they would appear from Mr. Heath's letter. The actual facts are as follows:

(a) This Ministry noticed that Deng had not been reported as being present on the 31st May 1961 and on that date Special Branch were asked to find him. They unfortunately failed to do so and our first indication of his whereabouts was a report from our Embassy in Khartoum to the effect that the Sudanese had learned of his presence in Addis Ababa. It is clear that on this occasion our arrangements for surveillance of these Sudanese refugees were not sufficiently foolproof.

(b) So far as Saturnino is concerned, he failed to report to the Resident as he should have done on the 18th April, 1961. We immediately put into force arrangements for trying to trace him and Police throughout the Protectorate were alerted. You will recall that Saturnino was reliably reported to be at Gulu and we did not therefore wish to warn the Secretary of State that he had escaped from Uganda until we were quite sure that he had in fact done so. In the event we were misled by a most admirably executed decoy movement launched in the Northern Province with the assistance of the local African Brothers. One of our telegrams was unfortunately worded to give the impression that we knew nothing about Saturnino's escape until the Apostolic delegate saw His Excellency the Governor and stated that Saturnino was in Dar es Salaam. This, of course, was not the case and we were trying hard to find Saturnino at this time. The circumstances were of course, fully explained to Brenchley on his visit and this misunderstanding was cleared up.

(c) So far as Oduho is concerned, the circumstances concerning his escape are much the same as those concerning Saturnino except that he last failed to report on 11th July 1961 and the Resident's office did not inform us of this failure until 20th July. His absence from Uganda, however, was noticed before the 18th August and we had been trying to find him.

I do not think that there is any need for anyone to take this up with the Foreign Office again but you might like to have this on record in case of need.

Yours sincerely,

(J.S. Champion)

J.W. Stacpoole, Esq.,
Colonial Office,
The Church House,
Great Smith Street, S.W.1.

SECRET

